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Commonweal

BENJAMIN V. COHEN **DISARMAMENT IS THE GOAL**

PIERRE EMMANUEL **VOCATION OF THE WRITER**

CHARLES G. FENWICK

JEAN HOLZHAUER

june 27

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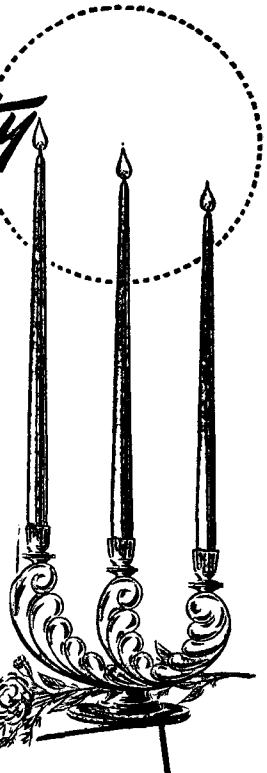

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THE Commonweal

week by week

FEPC AND THE CAMPAIGN

THE question of compulsory FEPC legislation is already a hotly contested issue in the Presidential campaign. General Eisenhower has indicated that he thinks the matter should be left to the states; he is confident that men of good intentions will work out solutions to the interracial problem, without additional interference from the Federal government. Senator Kefauver is himself opposed to the establishment of a Fair Employment Practices Commission with enforcement powers, but he is willing to accept such a plank in his platform if the convention wants it.

Although Senator Taft likes to needle General Eisenhower a little on this issue, he is also opposed to introducing compulsion in this area, favoring instead the establishment of some kind of commission which would be persuasive in character and completely without any powers of enforcement. And Senator Russell, of course, representing the traditional viewpoint of the Southern legislator, is opposed to all Federal action on the subject of race.

Most opponents of legislation aimed at racial disabilities harp on one theme over and over again. "We are all for good race relations," they say. "We are pro-tolerance, anti-bigotry. But everybody knows you cannot legislate morality."

Popular as it is, this argument does not deal with the central issue. Rape, murder, and theft are immoral. They are also illegal. It is quite true that law cannot rule a person's interior disposition, at least directly. But if wishes are beyond the domain of law, actions are not, and legislators are primarily concerned with actions.

The number of people who would like to commit murder may conceivably be very large. The number who actually commit it, however, is relatively small, to a large extent because of the severe legal penalties almost certain to follow such an act. Laws on the subject may leave a good many people with murder in their hearts, but from the point of view of public order and, very importantly, from the point of view of the potential victim, such legislation is successful, whether it be called legislating morality or not.

Almost as popular as the argument that dismisses FEPC in this fashion is the claim that race relations are matters of purely local concern and not the business of the nation as a whole. But commentators on the international scene agree that no other single issue is more of an obstacle to our foreign policy than our continuing record of racial discrimination, especially in our dealings with the peoples of Asia. On this ground alone, if on no other, the solution to this problem is clearly a matter of more than purely local importance.

MANY legislators who are against such Federal legislation attribute their opposition to the principle of States' Rights. But if this argument is to be taken seriously, it must be accompanied by vigorous action on a local level. Unfortunately, all too often those who are loudest in defense of States' Rights follow a do-nothing policy at home. Under these circumstances it is hard to take their States' Rights arguments against FEPC very seriously.

Substantial advances toward the goal of interracial justice have been made in the past fifteen years. But advocates of purely voluntary action have to face the fact that most of the gains have been made under the threat of compulsion. Action by the courts is opening to Negroes the doors of colleges and universities long closed to them. The ban on enforcement of racial restrictive convenants in housing was not won by spontaneous action on a local level, and if the Negro had waited for good will to open the polling booths to him, in certain Southern states he would probably still be without the vote.

Behind these and many other milestones in the field of race relations may be seen the power of the law and the courts. From this fact, as well as from the educational qualities of law itself, flows the

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strength of the arguments on behalf of national legislation designed to secure job opportunities for all on the basis of individual ability, regardless of race or color.

There are, however, arguments against national FEPC legislation which cannot be too easily dismissed. Eleven states do have such laws, eight of them with seldom invoked enforcement powers, and they do operate effectively. But in areas where the law would be bitterly resented, such legislation could conceivably do more harm than good, and this might be the case in the South. Traditions and social attitudes of long standing die hard, and even though the law is itself an educational force of considerable potency, die-hard opposition to it might prevent its effective operation.

Awareness of this fact undoubtedly makes some men of experience and unquestionable good will hesitate on national FEPC legislation at this time. But since the problem is a pressing one and the arguments on behalf of national legislation are strong, in the current campaign the burden of proof in this matter should rest with the candidate himself.

"TRADE, NOT AID"

MEN caught in the toils of business operations often feel that if they want a job done, the simple thing is to do it personally. That avoids the endless explaining, careful nurturing and sustained pressure that so tax a businessman's patience. Yet the ability to get others to do things is a talent most highly prized in executives. And going concerns depend heavily on the tasks performed by their underlings.

A similar principle is operative on the international terrain, where national pride also comes into the picture. Since the war the United States has been underpinning various European economies by loans and outright gifts. When a crisis arose in France or England and national currencies were threatened, our answer was a Congressional appropriation. We have kept the wolf from the door even though we seem to have earned little gratitude for it.

But now that Mr. Churchill foresees as inevitable another British crisis of a major sort, the time is at hand to produce a new formula which will stabilize the economy and still take into account his people's understandable desire to be a "self-supporting and consequently a self-respecting nation." Continuing loss of empire has but accentuated British desires for national self-respect.

Americans, for their part, encouraged by campaign promises, are wondering whether their foreign aid burden cannot be lightened. It is no longer as easy as it once was to get new appropriations, even to bail out our principal European allies. So that half of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's new slogan, "Trade, Not Aid," strikes a responsive chord this side of the Atlantic. It is when both parties get down to details on trade that the difficulties commence.

Much has been made of the fact that Washington has just placed substantial orders in Europe for American military planes. A lot is hoped for in "offshore purchases" of arms to equip United States contingents overseas. Yet these are clearly of a temporary character which has little to do with long-term exchanges of goods and services.

The same must be said of our purchases of Malayan natural rubber and tin and other strategic raw materials from the sterling area for stockpiling purposes—important as they have been both economically and militarily in recent months. But these transactions could lead to certain agreements whereby the United States might guarantee to sustain continued purchases of such materials from these areas for a specific number of years.

When it comes to manufactures the difficulties multiply. We Americans pride ourselves on the efficiencies of our mass production. It is hard for us to see why we need import finished products in any appreciable numbers. (Luxuries are something else.) American manufacturers count on taking care of the bulk of this nation's vast domestic wants —protective tariffs hold well-fortified positions.

Yet the old argument about America's need to export (and hence to import) has lost none of its original validity. It is particularly applicable to certain industries, while the prosperity of war

NEXT WEEK

H. A. REINHOLD writes on the divisions in Christendom and the work of Christian reunion.

"By going back together, each denomination on its own path to the original fork in the road where the break occurred—and then by looking along the undivided road as it extends back to the age of the Fathers and the distant days of martyrs and apostles —we perceive surprising, consoling and beautiful vistas spread before us. In most cases the hard-looking crust melts away. New insights into the true nature of the Church's doctrine convince the dissenters that there is 'more sense than I expected' in the Catholic tradition."

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periods indicates our dependence on outside demand. This now has the further backing of urgent political reasons.

The need, then, is plain enough. A new policy is of the essence. The prosaic and back-breaking work of figuring out how to do it remains to be done. Great Britain, for one, requires new assurances of steady American purchases on a large enough scale permanently to staunch the drain of her dwindling gold reserve. American aid must be transformed from direct to indirect. To help set the British on their own feet is all the more important at the moment, for Mr. Gromyko's new assignment to London is widely accepted as a move aimed at driving the United States and her chief ally farther and farther apart.

YALE vs. HARVARD

MR. WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR., formerly of Yale, seems to have something of a genius for confounding issues. In his master work he managed to identify an attack on dogmatic secularism and academic anti-religious bias with a hearty defense of an economic philosophy repudiated by the Popes and a theory of the State solemnly condemned in official Catholic documents. As a critic of secularist tendencies in education Buckley stood to gain widespread Catholic support. But *God and Man at Yale* was sold as a package. If you wanted Buckley on the "superstitions of academic freedom" you had to take him on the revival of nineteenth-century economic liberalism.

Some Catholic spokesmen would not buy the package. Others were willing to overlook the economic antediluvianism and gratefully accepted this fresh young warrior in the battle against classroom secularism. No responsible Catholic spokesman seriously defended the Buckley socio-political heresies, but many coolly brushed criticism of them aside as manifestations of a baneful modern preoccupation with economics. The nature of Mr. Buckley's heresies were pointed out again and again in the Catholic press, but apparently the young man remains unmoved. He continues to peddle his anti-papal economics without any noticeable changes, often under the auspices of Catholics who have been thrilled by the boldness of his attack on the secularist professors.

Now Mr. Buckley has come through again—this time with an ambiguous answer to Harvard President Conant's attack on private schools, which most Catholics, naturally enough, accepted as an attack on their parochial school system. Again Mr. Buckley can count on Catholic support. But if you want Buckley's support of the private school, you have to take Buckley's attack on the public schools. Another package deal; the central issue confused again.

Writing in *Human Events,* Buckley has this recommendation: "Way before Dr. Conant came out with his dirge about private schools, some responsible spokesman of freedom should have come out with a different observation about education. On the premise that every individual in our society ought to enjoy maximum freedom, which includes the freedom to superintend the education of his children, the suggestion ought to be made that every State rebate to the citizen who seeks private education, that percentage of the State's educational budget that is earmarked for his public education. In short, we ought to adjust our thinking, to devise ways and means of encouraging the *proliferation* of private schools, as the last, best bulwark against the monolith of the new, secular, statist social order."

Catholic educators themselves, meeting at Kansas City last April, took a view that Mr. Buckley, apparently, would find unacceptable. At that meeting Msgr. Frederick G. Hochwalt, secretary general of the National Catholic Educational Association, answered the question: "Just how do Catholics stand on public education?" He said, among other things, "It is appropriate here to reiterate the traditional Catholic position on the American public school system. (1) Catholics believe in the public schools! (2) Catholics believe that as citizens, like all other citizens, they have an obligation to pay taxes for the adequate support of the public schools in their community. (3) Catholics have not nor will not interfere with the justifiable expansion of the public schools in their community. (4) Catholics have a civic duty to take an active interest in the welfare of the public school system."

We believe that Msgr. Hochwalt expressed, as he put it, the "traditional" Catholic attitude toward the American public school system. We hope that the combined influence of Dr. Conant and Mr. Buckley will not succeed in maneuvering Catholic opinion into an anti-public school position. Despite their limitations the public schools have served American democracy well. Without Catholic support, public education would in many places be seriously endangered.

We do not believe that in this instance Mr. Buckley, for all his daring and aggressiveness, has served the cause of the American private school, specifically of the Catholic parochial school. Rather he has lent further credence to the idea that every defense of the private school is a subversive attack on the public school system, an idea which is already too widespread.

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THE JACKETS AND THE BOOKS

THE Congressional inquiry into "immoral" literature is continuing, and during its course the New York *Times* reported a remark which illumines a real problem. One of the Congressmen expressed surprise that "some of the books displaying voluptuous, bosomy females were not bad at all. He said he gave several to his wife to read, and she gave them a clean bill of health."

We wonder what these books were. Perhaps, among them, was Arthur Koestler's *Darkness at Noon,* published in a twenty-five cent reprint with a cover which suggests that here is a book filled with erotic dreams, or maybe George Orwell's *1984,* which has a cover suggesting a book about "bosomy" females wearing "anti-sex league" buttons, who spend their time seducing sex-starved males.

These are books in which the erotic element is either practically non-existent or so submerged in a much greater context that it has justification and meaning. But they are among hundreds of other serious literary works prostituted to the lowest kind of commercial exploitation by publishers overanxious to sell their wares at any price.

We are not in sympathy with such moves towards indiscriminate censorship as the Congressional investigation of "corrupting influences" in literature suggest. We are opposed to any wholesale banning of "dangerous" books. But the reaction of the legislator who is surprised to find that many books are not so immoral as their jackets proclaim is a telling commentary on some purveyors of culture-for-the-millions who, in their contempt for the people's taste, do not scruple to debase literature itself to the low levels they proclaim it their mission to raise.

THEY'D RATHER BE RIGHT

IN an April 18 editorial we observed that the increasingly heated struggle between the Taft and Eisenhower forces points up the basic difficulty of the Republican Party's choice. For here, we said, it is not a question of nominating that man who gives better promise of attaining his party's aims, but rather of choosing between candidates who represent, at least on major approaches, bitterly contested and radically opposed philosophies.

What has been said and done since then, particularly during the past two weeks, seems to have widened the breach. Candidate Eisenhower has scrupulously avoided any indulgence in personalities, but his generalized statements leave no doubt of his adamant refusal to embrace the extreme Taft-MacArthur-McCarthy positions. On the other hand, the Senator from Ohio has talked and acted with all the fervor of a Grand Inquisitor zealous to purge his party's ranks of any deviationists from classical Republican orthodoxy.

Mr. Taft's efforts in this direction have been remarkable for their adherence to the peculiarly monolithic pattern of the zealot mentality. The very concern of the zealot for attaining clear-cut ends frequently generates a certain cynicism regarding the means of attainment. Senator Taft and his stalwarts are making it clear that their own brand of simon-pure Republican "Americanism" will be imposed on the convention by any means conveniently at hand, and that those in their own party who oppose either their definitions or their methods are at best "dubious" Republicans.

The Taft forces' designation of an avowed Taft supporter, General Douglas MacArthur, as the convention's keynoter illustrates both their zeal and their cynicism. Selected in open defiance of every argument of fair play and party unity, the General will here reach a high point of his spectacular fifteen-month-old fade-away. This most eloquent prophet of strict Republican orthodoxy, who assures us that he has "no politics" in him, will find at Chicago the most spot-lighted opportunity yet for his bitter indictment of that Administration which has failed to subscribe to his own version of foreign and domestic wisdom. The General who was so receptive towards efforts to secure him the GOP nomination in both 1944 and 1948 will have a chance, at least by indirection, to impress upon the convention his 1952 aversion to military men seeking high government office.

The determination of the Taft forces to seat a delegation representing a Texan minority favorable to the Senator has been equally zealous—and equally cynical. And it has been openly defended by Mr. Taft himself on the interesting grounds that the Eisenhower supporters in the Texas precinct meetings were really Democrats in disguise. "Our people," the Senator said, "were right in principle." "Our people" are, of course, those one-hundred-percent, life-long Republicans who, in the words of one of their leaders, "would rather lose with Taft than win with Eisenhower."

This 1952 variation on the "I'd rather be Right" theme may edify some because of its single-minded devotion to a narrow political orthodoxy, but its willingness to employ any roughshod means on the road to political salvation will probably alienate many more. In this case it may end by defeating itself. It may be preparing for a spectacular, and final, fade-away from the American national scene of that extremist position which it now so zealously represents.

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Disarmament Is the Goal

IF WE KNEW THAT DISAGREEMENTS AND DISPUTES COULD NOT EXPLODE INTO WAR, THE INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE WOULD BE REVOLUTIONIZED

BENJAMIN V. COHEN

AT THE same time that the United Nations Disarmament Commission is meeting in New York City, the member nations are building their armed strength. What is the meaning of this paradox?

The nations are building up their armed strength because they fear one another. Certainly in the case of the free nations the fear that weakness in an armed world might invite aggression has caused them to build up their military strength. But the fear of armaments has led not to disarmament but to increased armaments, and these in turn have led to increased suspicion and profound distrust. Armaments have not only been growing in volume, they have so grown in destructive power that a total war might conceivably destroy the whole civilized world.

Nations' fears have multiplied their arms, and nations' arms have multiplied their fears. That is why the people of the world are hoping that the UN Disarmament Commission may be able to find a way to reverse this process: to reduce nations' arms and nations' fears. The people of the world hope that the Commission may encourage a constructive approach—a systematic plan for getting out from under the fear of attack and the burden of armament.

The United States has suggested that the first principle to guide the Commission in its work should be the recognition that "the goal of disarmament is not to regulate but to prevent war by relaxing the tensions and fears created by armaments, and by making war inherently, as it is constitutionally under the Charter, impossible as a means of settling disputes between nations."

Under the Charter all members of the United Nations agree to settle their disputes by peaceful means and not to use force save in the common interest. It is certainly anomalous that states which have solemnly undertaken these Charter obligations should maintain huge armaments. If states are serious in their pledges not to resort to war as an instrument of national policy, they should be willing to move towards the goal of universal disarmament as rapidly as effective safeguards against violations and evasions can be devised and applied.

Ambassador Cohen is the United States Deputy Representative on the UN Disarmament Commission.

An effective disarmament program should be conceived as a means to strengthen the peace and not as a haggling process aimed at reducing the cost of war preparations. Excessive armaments aggravate, if they do not create, tensions and fears. By relaxing tensions and fears, balanced disarmament should facilitate the peaceful settlement of political differences.

TO GUIDE the Commission in its work, the United States has also proposed the following:

> To achieve this goal [of disarmament as a means of preventing war], all states must cooperate to establish an open and substantially disarmed world, (a) in which armed forces and armaments will be reduced to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no state will be in a condition of armed preparedness to start a war, and (b) in which no state will be in a position to undertake preparations for war without other states having knowledge of such preparations long before an offending state could start a war.

This principle of an open and substantially disarmed world is the fourth freedom—freedom from fear—which President Roosevelt first proclaimed in 1941. It was President Roosevelt himself who translated the concept into world terms to mean "a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor—anywhere in the world."

In such a disarmed world, all instruments adaptable to mass destruction would be eliminated, including mass armies, without which no aggressor could carry out his evil designs. In such an open world there could be no secret armies, no secret weapons and no secret war plans. The absence of such instruments of war must be assured by full disclosure, on a continuing basis, of all arms and armed forces anywhere in the world, by a system of verification of that information, and by adequate control to make sure that nothing is hidden and that agreed reductions and prohibitions are carried out.

With effective disarmament in such a truly open

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world, no nation would have reason to fear or suspect that any other nation was covertly making preparations to fight a war. In such a world, the flouting of the rules by any new aggressor would be known long before he could put himself in a position to fight a war.

MANY people think that universal disarmament militates against collective security. It does not. On the contrary, by bringing the task of its accomplishment within manageable proportions, universal disarmament should increase the possibility of collective security immeasurably. Law enforcement in the international field, like law enforcement in the domestic field, does not depend on a vast accumulation of arms in the possession of the peace officers, rather it hinges upon the rigid limitation of arms in the possession of organized groups not responsible to the peace officers. Large national armies and armaments are as inimical to international peace as large private armies and armaments have always been to domestic peace.

If we knew as a certainty that no nation was able to undertake a war with any prospect of success or to accomplish an act of aggression by a quick, decisive blow, there would be a profound change in the climate of international relationships. Differences would remain, differences in ideas, in interest, and even in power. But the people would know that these differences could not suddenly explode into war. The road to genuine understanding and peaceful settlement would not be blocked by the necessity to consider every problem in the light of its effect on military potential in some future war; instead issues could be judged in terms of their effects on human welfare in a peaceful friendly world. As a result, there would be much less danger that states would seek to strengthen and protect themselves in the event of future war by entering into strategic settlements which themselves plant the seeds of friction and war.

For good or ill, even in a disarmed world, power would still be an important factor. But national power in a disarmed world, again like power in the domestic field, would depend not on armed preparedness, but on the health and virility of the people and the industrial and economic development of the nation. There should be very little difference in power relationships if all states arm to the hilt or if all states disarm completely, but there will be a great difference in the happiness and welfare of the people.

In the long run, justice is likely to fare better in a world where neither nations nor individuals may take the law into their own hands and fight it out. Certainly in an armed world there is much greater danger of confusing right and might than in a disarmed world. In an armed world there must be arms to support and sustain the right, and every nation remembers with pride its efforts to sustain the right by force of arms. But in an armed world there is no assurance that the balance of armed strength will always be in the service of the right. Nor in such a world is there any assurance that armed power—even power in the service of the right—may not come to exercise a corroding influence on men's ideas as to what is right and what is wrong. On the whole, and over a reasonable length of time, the power of righteousness is more likely to prevail in a disarmed world than in an armed world.

IF AN open and substantially disarmed world is accepted as our goal, how do we get there?

Distrust and suspicion and political differences interpose serious and perhaps insuperable obstacles in the way of the quick attainment of our goal. It is hard for men accustomed to living in the dark to trust themselves in the light. All of us are deeply concerned about national safety, and no responsible statesman can be expected to risk the security of his country for a hope which may prove to be illusory. We know that nonaggression pacts have in the past lulled their victims into a false sense of security, and we are determined not to let that happen again. What is needed is a balanced reduction in arms and armies to the lowest possible levels, based, as President Truman has stated, "on safeguards that will insure the compliance of all nations."

Until such a system of balanced reduction with adequate safeguards can be agreed upon and put into effect, free nations cannot leave their freedom and security at the mercy of the uncontrolled armed strength of other nations. Until all reduce, the free must continue to produce in order to keep the peace. But President Truman has stated: "We would prefer to see the nations cut down their armed forces on a balanced basis that would be fair to all. That is the way we hoped the world would follow six years ago, when we hoped to set up the United Nations. And it is what we are still working for —an international order without the burden of tremendous armaments."

To reach this goal, the agreement and cooperation of all states which have substantial armed strength must be secured. The mandate to the United Nations Disarmament Commission from the General Assembly cannot ensure such agreement and cooperation. But it does enable the Commission to consider and discuss all proposals which may come before it bearing upon:

> the development by the United Nations of comprehensive and coordinated plans, under international control, for the regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of all armed forces and all armaments, for the elimination of all major weapons adaptable to mass destruction, and for the effective international control of atomic energy to ensure the prohibition of atomic weapons and the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only.

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IF THE Commission is to carry out its mandate effectively, it will have to look at the total world picture. Law-abiding nations cannot be expected to agree to any formula of arms reduction which would perpetuate an existing imbalance of armed strength and aggravate, rather than relieve, their fears of aggression. An English poet has defined freedom as "leave to live by no man's leave, underneath the Law." Just as in the case of individuals, nations do not feel secure in their freedom unless they have leave to live by no other nation's leave, underneath the law.

Many of our present difficulties, both in Europe and in Asia, spring from an imbalance of armed strength which causes some nations to feel that they live only by the leave of their more powerful and none too friendly neighbors. If a balanced reduction of arms is to reduce fear of aggression, it must take into account the balance of armed strength of the most powerful states not only in relation to one another, but also in relation to their neighbors.

As an indication of the sort of balanced reduction which should be sought as a beginning, the United States, the United Kingdom and France have proposed that ceilings be placed on all armed forces. They have proposed a ceiling of between a million and a half and a million for the United States, the Soviet Union and China and a ceiling of between eight and seven hundred thousand for the United Kingdom and France. Comparable reductions should be agreed on for other countries. This proposal deals with only one essential component of a comprehensive program which should also limit and restrict the armaments necessary to support the permitted armed forces and at the same time provide for the effective elimination of all major weapons of mass destruction.

It may be that all nations are not yet ready to beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks and to learn war no more. And of course we dare not go unarmed in a world bristling with arms. Intolerant and strongly armed totalitarianism is not likely to respect unarmed goodwill. But if it becomes convinced that it must choose between common survival and mutual extinction, even the most fanatical ideology is likely to prefer to live and let live. The increasingly total destructiveness of the new weapons of total war is making this choice more and more obviously inevitable.

Even though the Soviet Union may not yet be prepared to engage in serious discussions on disarmament, we must be prepared for such discussions if and when the opportunity comes. Time and circumstances do cause men and nations to alter their attitudes. It is important that our people, as well as the people of the Soviet Union, understand what must be done if the world is to be relieved of the burdens and fears of armaments and the scourge of war.

FROM ITALY

Sidelights On the Elections

"THE priests have won again!" This was the bitter comment of a Communist carpenter in Rome after the results of the recent provincial and city elections were announced in Rome.

Rarely have the Communists had such unexpected advantages before an election and suffered such poor results later. Their opponents were split between two blocs who were fighting each other. The Christian Democrats remained faithful to their tradition and held off from making any deals, even temporary deals, with the new Right, which consisted largely of Monarchists and neo-Fascists. Thus the Demo-Christians had to fight a difficult two-front battle which, in view of the Italian city election law, might well have been to the advantage of the Communists. Then just before the elections the Communists were able to produce a sensational deserter from the Catholic camp, the ex-Jesuit Father Alighiero Tondi. In spite of the fact that Tondi's "revelations" were strangely unconvincing and merely warmed-over versions of old Communist slogans, turning out to be something of an anti-climax for both sides, the priest's apostasy helped the Communists to concentrate their fire on the weak spots behind Catholic lines.

Despite all this, since the elections the Communists have been put on the defensive all over Italy. The most satisfactory result of the election as far as they are concerned is that they have managed to keep the same number of votes they previously controlled. The gains they made in some places compensated for the losses in others. Again one Italian in every three voted Communist. But the main significance in these recent elections was that all parties saw them as a means to gain strategic positions for the all-out decisive contests to be held next year. The Communists lost a number of crucial local elections to both Christian Democrats and the parties of the Right and are now clearly handicapped. In their desperate efforts to belittle these defeats the Communists now concentrate their propaganda on how much strength the Christian Democrats have lost to the Right.

As for the Christian Democrats themselves, it seems now that their policy during the past year of veering to the right, which was widely criticized, has proved to be wise. It is clear now that they were trying to avoid as much as possible the losses in that direction. But the

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losses have nevertheless been heavy. Yet whatever the party lost in quantity, it seems to have gained in quality, and it still holds a safe majority. Even if they have turned to the right, the Demo-Christians are now more than ever a central party and the only political bloc in Italy which can rightfully call itself democratic, in the Western sense of the word. DeGasperi's personal position has been strengthened, too. There is less talk now about the need to replace him with someone more energetic and ruthless. DeGasperi's elastic, compromising policy has once again proved to work well. It is generally agreed upon that he has succeeded in giving Italy a stable as well as a democratic government, which is not the case in France, for instance, where the government is democratic but not stable, or in Spain, where the government is stable but not democratic.

AS a sidelight on these Italian elections, I would like to bring Nomadelphia into the picture once more, probably for the last time. In a letter released just after the elections, Cardinal Schuster, the Archbishop of Milan (who four years ago when the situation was so different backed up the project wholeheartedly) condemned Nomadelphia in terms which left those involved in it no alternative other than to obey and disband. Cardinal Schuster recognized that its founders may have been moved by the best intentions, but he said that Nomadelphia itself had to be considered as expressing a "hidden Communist mystique" which exercised a great and baneful influence, especially on young people. Basing his letter on Canon Law he ordered the priests and people of his archdiocese to have nothing more to do with it.

The letter, of course, meant the end of Nomadelphia. Incidentally, this news could not have been more welcome to the Communists, whose recent attacks on Nomadelphia broke all records. The Nomadelphia experience proves again that it is impossible to stand between two armies when the battle approaches.

Everything indicates that Don Zeno Saltini, the founder of Nomadelphia, and his followers are going to obey and disband, just as they obeyed earlier. They recognize that their superiors are in a better position than they to judge the opportuneness of their bold experiment. But some of them cannot refrain from asking why they were not warned sooner, since every step they took was submitted to ecclesiastical authority for either approval or criticism.

Most Italian sympathizers with the Nomadelphia experiment approve now of this prompt and filial response on the part of Don Zeno and his friends. Under the present circumstances, just as in the army, disobedience would have constituted treason. But it is widely held among them that even if Nomadelphia was a mistaken response to the Communist challenge, the challenge still remains. The tactical successes of the Christian Democrats can not cancel it out, and the 314,243 votes which the Communists received in Rome, the capital of Christendom, confirm it. One out of every three Italians still votes Communist.

THE big new factor in Italian political life since the elections is the Rightist bloc, which has been formed through tactical cooperation between the Fascists, the Monarchists and a few smaller parties. The amazing progress this bloc has made, particularly in Southern Italy, in Naples and Bari, is the outstanding feature of the elections. In many cases the Monarchists outnumber the neo-Fascists, but the Fascists have nevertheless managed to do what they wish with the new bloc, despite their lack of funds and of leaders. The best-known names they have been able to produce so far are those of Rudolfo Graziani, once a Mussolini general and now a sickly old man, and those of a couple of third-rate pre-war Fascists. They say they favor a kind of "corrected" fascism. Portugal's Antonio Salazar comes closest to their ideals.

There is general agreement in Italy now that after their striking success in the recent elections, the neo-Fascists might be able to gain some financially strong supporters who would be willing to invest money in the movement. Many seem to think that the present lack of good fascist leaders is the only thing that held them back from achieving even greater success than they had. Their strong appeal to youth seems to lie in a ruthless anti-Communism and unreasoning nationalism. The neo-Fascists manage to intoxicate their followers with memories of Italy's past greatness and propose to meet Communist terror with their own kind of terror.

The Monarchists have now thrown in their lot with the Fascists, thus losing their sympathizers among the Christian Democrats and binding themselves to the Right instead of remaining above the political parties, which was their original decision.

ANOTHER sidelight of the elections was the number of crypto-Communists who were brought to public attention. In the industrial areas, particularly in view of American work orders received, employers have fired their known Communist workers, sometimes on fairly slender pretexts, since it is not legally possible in Italy to fire a worker because of his political views. This has meant a tendency toward creating an aristocracy of non-Communist workers, who are able to work for longer than eight hours a day and are paid accordingly. It also has resulted in the Communists' being left without regular work, leaving them free to

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mingle with Italy's army of two million unemployed.

As the employed Italian workers stand in terror of losing their jobs, many members of the Communist party have not renewed party membership cards for years. They are publicly counted as having left the Marxist fold, even by the Communist chiefs themselves. In Milan particularly, many workers have left the party and make a point of letting their employers know where they now stand. The same situation prevails in southern Italy, in the overpopulated rural areas, where everyone wants to emigrate, even though only a small fraction ever gets the opportunity. Known Communist party members stand no chances of getting the documents and recommendations which would-be emigrés need.

But are these conversions from Communism sincere? Most of these public apostates are still considered to be Communists in good standing by the local Communist leaders. Election results indicate that they continue to vote Communist. This is one aspect of the crypto-Communist problem. In a democratic country like Italy, hidden Communists are more difficult to control than open party members. There are rumors here now that the Communist leaders favor crypto-Communism as the best way to meet the all-out drive against them which is expected. Crypto-Communism is their answer to the increase of Fascism.

The political joke that Italy is like a watermelon has been confirmed again. The watermelon is red inside, or at least a deep pink, with an unsuspected number of black fascist seeds.

GUNNAR D. KUMLIEN.

THE SCREEN

RUN WEST ON BALKAN

WE'RE in the midst of a spy-and-chase cycle and everybody wants to get into the act. The latest entry is "Diplomatic Courier," a well-made thriller that has some effective photography of international hotspots and isn't afraid to call a Communist a Communist. Playing the title role, Tyrone Power is sent to Salzburg by our State Department to pick up something from a member of the American Embassy stationed in Bucharest. But when that man is killed on a train before he can deliver the "something," Power finds himself caught up in a tangle of intrigue.

Director Henry Hathaway manages to make the plot seem weightier than it is. Any old hand at cloak-and-dagger novels and films should figure out which of the two suspicious girls Tyrone should steer clear of: Patricia Neal as the widow of a former State Department employee, or Hildegarde Neff as the European girl friend of the murdered Embassy man. Tyrone is sent by a counter-intelligence colonel (Stephen McNally) to trail Hildegarde in Trieste where she seems to be vacillating between the Russians and Americans. Fortunately a tough M.P. sergeant (Karl Malden) is assigned to keep an eye on Ty, who has to take a lot of punishment before he accomplishes his mission.

LESS exciting but much funnier is the new Katharine Hepburn-Spencer Tracy vehicle in which the stars play, respectively, "Pat and Mike." Pat, a college gym teacher, is exceptionally gifted with the golf club and tennis racket. One day while competing with Babe Didrikson Zaharias (herself) Pat is approached by Mike, a New York promoter, who tries to get her to throw the game. Pat indignantly refuses; however, she loses to Babe, not because of Mike but because her fiancé (William Ching) made her muff her game at the seventeenth hole. Right then and there Pat decides to take herself in hand. She leaves college and fiancé, signs up with Mike, who promotes and trains her, and from then on she plays some fine exhibition games.

Director George Cukor emphasized the laughs in this screenplay written by Ruth Gordon and Garson Kanin. Hepburn displays to advantage not only her brittle comedy style but an able familiarity with tennis and golf. She seems, at least for the purposes of the film, to be holding her own in such distinguished company as Gussie Moran, Alice Marble, Frank Parker, Don Budge and Betty Hicks, many of whom actually play with or against Katie. And Tracy has never been in better humor than he is in the Runyonesque role of the shady promoter. The scenes in which Mike puts Pat in training and the hilarious episode in which Pat comes to Mike's defense by using jiu-jitsu on a couple of gangsters are a delight. It doesn't take Pat long, of course, to start rebelling against Mike's strict and dictatorial training measures. It is, however, when she incites another of Mike's properties (Aldo Ray as a dumb prize fighter) to revolt that Mike begins to get concerned about this thinker in his camp. The plot of "Pat and Mike" is about as thin as most Pat-and-Mike jokes, but the trimmings are a joy.

SPORT enthusiasts will no doubt go for the big fight scene in "The Fighter," which has been expertly photographed by James Wong Howe and has Richard Conte conducting himself in first-rate style in the ring. Enthusiasm for the rest of the picture may be less, for in transferring Jack London's story "The Mexican" to the screen, Producer Alex Gottlieb lost some of its simple bite. Its plot about an embittered young Mexican (Conte) who comes to Texas around 1910 to earn money to help Durango (Lee J. Cobb)

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and his guerrillas gets smothered in arty effects. Howe's photography is so good throughout, you find yourself more interested in it than in the struggle against oppression in Mexico or in the young fellow who becomes a prize fighter to work for the cause.

THE Italians have sent over a curious picture called "Behind Closed Shutters," which traces the experiences of a young girl who looks for her sister in the red light district of a big city. Sordid is the word for the underworld atmosphere displayed in this film, and even that is putting it mildly. The heroine, played by Eleanora Rossi, who at times bears a striking resemblance to Ingrid Bergman, is pretty naive and she gets herself into the strangest and most frightening situations—including being picked up during a police raid on prostitutes and being thrown into a scummy prison. You quickly get the idea that police aren't too effective in communities where licensed prostitution prevails. Among the other oddities of this unusual film, which is actually a chase movie with plenty of horror thrown in, is the sound track into which has been dubbed English voices. Needless to say it doesn't work out too well to see some of these tough looking mugs and molls speaking a very British brand of English. If "Behind Closed Shutters" has anything to be said in its favor it is that it paints vice in thoroughly unattractive colors.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

COMMUNICATIONS

"THE JUDGES AND THE JUDGED"

Pittsburgh, Pa.

TO THE Editors: I am sorry that you published James M. O'Neill's review of *The Judges and the Judged,* by Merle Miller (May 23 issue). The book contains a strong and unfair attack on an organization and a publication for which I have the highest respect. Mr. O'Neill has attacked without having studied the publication. He takes (by admission) Mr. Miller's word for it —I do not.

I have read every issue of *Counterattack* for four years and I have scanned back copies. I have found no anonymous tips, no hearsay. *Counterattack* lists the things a person has done, the speeches he has made, the causes and organizations he has endorsed. If an individual cares to explain these actions or to repudiate them, *Counterattack* will publish his statement. It is not true to state or to imply that the editors of *Counterattack* use the whisper or the anonymous tip—they do not.

In Miller's book, *Counterattack* is condemned by hearsay and (if Mr. O'Neill's review is correct) also by anonymous quotes.

I firmly believe in guilt by association and so does everybody else. "The Liberals" themselves don't mind staining Fascists and reactionaries through "guilt by association."

There has been a successful Communist conspiracy to infiltrate the arts, the theater, the movies, the stage, the publishing business and criticism. This successful conspiracy has "puffed" pro-Communists and injured non-Communists and anti-Communists.

Counterattack has been the first half-successful move in the other direction. The job *Counterattack* did, badly needed doing. If some innocent "stupes" were injured that is too bad. But it is impossible to take any positive move in any direction without hurting somebody.

Mr. O'Neill is disturbed that a private organization could do this. How does he want it done? By the government?

I acclaim him for the book he wrote about Blanshard. But I fear that he has associated too long with the well-meaning, "sweet knuckleheads" in the ACLU and similar organizations. You can get so "pure" in this liberalism cause that you can nullify all action and make it impossible to protect the good from the bad.

I think *Counterattack* has damaged the Communist conspiracy. It has not destroyed it. I have no tears for the professional people who were helped by the Communists to get ahead and are now wailing that they didn't mean any harm. I have high respect for those who were taken in by the Reds and have admitted it. The defiant ones—many of them are traitors and the others of them want to have it both ways.

The contest with the Communists is all-out. We cannot save ourselves from the harm that the Reds do without vigorous action, without calling names, without painting labels, and without eventually shedding a lot of blood, I am afraid.

In my careful reading of all the issues of *Counterattack* I have found this paper to be right with regard to labor unions and extremely careful to distinguish between the militant unionists and the Communists. I say that in this field, with which I am acquainted, I have not found the editors of *Counterattack* to have made a single mistake in reporting, in judgment, or in emphasis.

I take them over Mr. Merle Miller and over the American Civil Liberties Union and in this matter, over Mr. O'Neill—and, if need be, over the editors of The Commonweal.

(Rev.) CHARLES OWEN RICE

REVIEWER'S REPLY

Lakeville, Conn.

TO THE Editors: If I were as well acquainted with *Counterattack* as Father Rice is, I might have said

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other things in my review; and if Father Rice were as well acquainted with the ACLU as I am, he would not (I think) have made the remark about "sweet knuckleheads in the ACLU and similar organizations." But I was not writing a review of *Counterattack,* or an evaluation of the ACLU. I was reviewing a book.

That the ACLU is interested in promoting Communism or Communist propaganda in any area by anyone is, in my opinion, complete nonsense. I have never seen any evidence of it, and have seen a great deal of evidence to the contrary. If Mr. Miller is guilty of lying, libel, or slander, the matter is one for the lawyers and the courts, not for book reviewers. I still believe there is no evidence of such guilt *in the book* which I reviewed. If such guilt is established for Mr. Miller I trust he will be properly punished by the courts—not by private citizens or organizations. If it is established for the ACLU I shall at once withdraw from membership, as I am confident will most of its present members, until reformation is complete.

I do not approve of all of the decisions and activities of the officers and committees of the ACLU, or of many other organizations which on the whole I believe in and support. To be specific: their support of the *Nation's* attack on the Superintendents of the New York schools for dropping subscriptions to the *Nation* on account of its publication of false and unproved attack on the religion of thousands of pupils and citizens was a reversal of a generation of ACLU policy, and their current attempt to eliminate a law against conspiracy to overthrow the government by force seems to me wholly indefensible. But such blunders do not prove that the ACLU is Communist or otherwise subversive, and eventually the chief result is harm to the ACLU.

If Mr. Miller, his sponsors, and his publishers are as guilty as Father Rice, and others, think they are, I submit that the next move is for *Counterattack* and *Red Channels* to seek redress in the courts.

JAMES M. O'NEILL

OF NOTE

THE LIBERATION OF THE CHURCH

AN article on "Christianity and Laicity" by Joseph Vialatoux and Andre Latreille which originally appeared in *Esprit* was widely discussed in French Catholic circles. It was Englished in a recent issue of *Cross Currents* (3111 Broadway, New York 27) by Harry Blair and Joseph E. Cunneen. The following is an excerpt:

> If the State in the course of past centuries has seemed "to gain on the Church," the Church also "has gained on the State." If the Church is no longer protected, she is no longer enslaved; to the degree that bishops no longer have political influence, they escape political authority. Often we have difficulty in imagining the value of the liberties that the Church has obtained from the side of the State which disregards it: free promulgation of Pontifical Letters, nomination of bishops. How many "liberties" that we proudly claim in our days would have been unthinkable in the times that preceded laicity. If it were necessary for her to choose, we do not believe that the Church would easily abandon the advantages that laicity has obtained for her, however imperfect this latter atmosphere may still appear.
>
> We must go further. One of the things which has weighed on the Church is to have had too often to concern herself (first, because of the default of the State, and then by habit, or through concern for the danger run by souls in a false laicity) with a great number of undertakings which are in themselves secular; these activities have sometimes assimilated her too much with a secular power, and since the advent of modern nations, made her fall into a certain dependence on secular powers. The temptation has been already offered to Christ; He has rejected it. How often we ought to meditate on this text in order to maintain our apostolate in the strict line of Christ's mission!
>
> We often appear not to know any longer what spirit informs us, while spending our energies, our time and our money for works that are labelled "Catholic" but are of themselves secular, while specifically Christian enterprises are neglected. We do not first of all weigh our works according to the pure weight of Souls, and of their spiritual miseries. Why, for example, is it so difficult to interest Catholics in a religious teaching conceived in itself, without political tangents, and unite them for claims of an essential religious purpose, as for obtaining the time necessary for this teaching?
>
> The malaise is, nevertheless, felt by many. Priests groan at being able to spend only the smallest fraction of their time at prayer, preaching the word of God (and in the preparation of this preaching), confession, visiting the sick, and the spiritual formation of lay apostles, obliged as they are not only to "serve the tables" of charity (which is already improper, according to *Acts,* VI, 2), but to consecrate from one-half to three-quarters of their priestly life in seeking money, running bazaars, teaching language or mathematics, preparing meetings, etc.
>
> What a change there would be in the potential of the Church if all priests were able to bear on their countenances not the mask of a busy man, externalized in secular activity, but that of the

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man of religion, recollected, and opening outwards in order to respond to the cry of souls! For too often they *cannot*. We mean that the occupations which overwhelm them are so great, and often so worldly, that an heroic soul would be required to make this excess of concerns serve a spiritual progress, and perhaps heroism is not a general rule.

Despite appearance to the contrary, no multiplication of secular works—in fact, absolutely nothing—can make up for the absence of that truly spiritual activity for which the Church was founded.

That is why if an authentic laicity were able to dispense the Church from secular works which would no longer be dangerous for her children, there would be an immense profit gained from it.

Yes, nothing is more important for the Church than achieving her liberation from concerns which are directly worldly, and finding again all her forces in order to preach her message of faith, hope, and charity; everything which prepares this liberation (therefore, all efforts for an open laicity) is working for the authentic good of the Church; everything which prevents it (or, every failure to work for this laicity) contributes to diminish the authentic efficacy of the Church.

Those who listen to the profound throbbing of the Christian people, who are on the look-out for the real needs and authentic desires of the Christian people, have not been astonished by the amplitude of the echo to Cardinal Suhard's letter, *Growth and Decline,* one of the great spiritual events of 1947. It can be said with certainty that no intervention on the school question, or even on the social question, would have shaken the active mass of the Christian people in this way. But it was a question of truly supernatural directives, that no other authorities can pretend to give—precise directives given to Christians in a spirit of *liberation* from the temporal; and nevertheless presenting a mission in the temporal. "You are in the world and not of the world"; souls found there what their desire of Christian obedience was waiting for.

This reaction of the Christian people is healthy. The Church risks far more failing in *her mission,* (which remains essentially in the supernatural order) in not preaching the Gospel enough, than in not intervening enough in social questions, where official interventions (we are not speaking of the influence of her doctrine through Christians engaged in the temporal order) are more and more delicate, and risk losing in spiritual direction all that they contain as precise directives. Precisions are the work of the laity.

The Vocation Of the Writer

PIERRE EMMANUEL

THE question of the responsibility of the writer comes up so often. There is not a literary journal which fails to raise the question in some fashion every year. To make answer is part of the necessary payment by which an author calls attention to himself, gives the public a sample of his profound thoughts, sweats blood in many cases to distinguish himself at all costs, then ends by finding that he is much the same as the man printed in the column next to his. At first I had no particular objection to such inquiries, but they have finally, by their very repetition, awakened me to the threat against the interior life which they clearly foreshadow.

There is something sinister about the persistence with which that fearful question pursues those of us who write—not only as to the act of writing but also its possible consequences. I am not sure that this actually points to the growing power of the written word. Rather I am inclined to find it a symptom of the servitude which writing tends to impose upon those who write.

The celebrated vocation of the writer, which in romantic ages made him an oracle, an inspired figure looking out over the future, has become industrialized with the times. A servant of his public, or of his journal, or his party, the writer finds himself called upon (whether explicitly or not makes little difference) to utilize his talents on behalf of a certain course of action. Publicity will take care of the rest; it may even make a genius of him.

The day will come—if it is not already here—when the question of the writer's responsibility will be reduced to a much more concise and more brutal question: Who pays you? And let no one try to answer this by invoking spiritual considerations. The muffled language which in our day is still encouraged (since it remains profitable) will then no longer be acceptable.

There was a time, less exhibitionist than ours, when the very idea of making a gesture of parading one's responsibility would have seemed the height of bad taste, of buffoonery, even perhaps a kind of sacrilege. Men beat their breasts in secret or in public; but it was aimed at God alone, in all humility, not to justify themselves or to win glory in the eyes of men. The great object then was to live in the sight of God, on that com-

M. Emmanuel is a well known French poet. This article was translated and adapted from an address given during the recent Semaine des Intellectuels Catholiques in Paris.

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mon terrain of faith which determined the worth of each gesture without robbing it of its liberty.

In the economy of Grace, accepting responsibility was the way man responded to the gifts of God; one's standing in the sight of God brought about a corresponding standing in the sight of men; and, reciprocally, every attitude toward men disclosed an attitude toward God. Whatever he did, the Christian could not leave the world of faith. He ever remembered that no man can serve two masters, and when he paid homage to Mammon he recognized clearly that he was offending the Lord of the Heavens. God never permitted Himself to be forgotten. He was the most present Presence, inseparable from one's breathing, saturating the conscience even to its most remote dark corners. The Christian of the centuries of faith therefore lived an integrated life. The departmentalization from which we suffer was more than strange to him; it was completely beyond his comprehension.

WHEN I speak of the Christian of the centuries of faith, it is clear that I contrast him with the Christian of today. But is not faith the mark of a Christian? Our faith has nothing to do with history; it does not evolve; it is the same for the believer in the twentieth century as it was in the days of the apostles. For a man's faith is primarily this: the result of God's taking him over. "I call you by your name; you are Mine." Such was the initial act, the miracle of the divine eruption in the first to receive that gift.

We do not choose God; He chooses us. It is presumptuous to say that faith is first a matter of the will, that to wish to believe is already to believe. For there is that absolute moment, that bolt of thunder which dazzles and fells, the encounter with Our Lord, Who has little interest in our reasons for believing or doubting. An instant before we were philosophizing; now we lie prostrate on the ground. We know Who is the stronger, but once that proof of power is given, God does not demand that we capitulate before it. It is in the very place where we are weakest that He allows us to be absolutely free. We can, knowing Who He is, choose Him or choose ourselves, abandon ourselves or abandon Him.

Whoever has experienced faith knows that it cannot be communicated; the believer's God is not the God of the philosophers but the Being to which everything must be referred, even the slightest thing in daily existence. The believer cannot live both in the faith and out of it, calling upon God or ignoring Him as he wills. He cannot have two ways of writing: one for those who believe as he does, the other for the unbeliever.

When he has submitted to convictions which faith does not explain and which appear absurd in the eyes of the world—a world that explains things very well without faith, and learnedly repeats its eternal hobby-horse logic—the Christian will be freed from his inferiority complex about that logic. He will be proud of what he once tried to conceal as an absurdity, and an inexhaustible universe of knowledge from the heart will open out before him. His very understanding, made fruitful by the grace of believing, will be stimulated by hidden and yet more active faculties, which up to then had lain dormant from lack of use.

Then he will be given the strength to affirm without reservation what before he did not dare to maintain except in some attempted self-justification, using reasoning which hardly convinced him, and convinced others not at all. This affirmation of the existence of another world which envelops and penetrates his being, of a world that must either be accepted or rejected *in toto* and whose order of things is the reversal of our own, since it is not based on our idea of time, is more able to stir the empty consciences of our contemporaries than any endless dispute about ways in which our thought can be made palatable.

HUMAN prudence in the artist can take on the most respectable forms. For example, he may be fearful of approaching certain subjects that can be treated only on one's knees, or he may become paralyzingly aware of the lack of proportion between his own knowledge of religious things and the means which he has at his disposal to express that knowledge. It therefore comes about that the artist wants to leave out of his art that faith which he professes; art, according to him, is based only on esthetics.

Certain Christian scholars do the same in leaving God on the threshold when they shut themselves up in their laboratories. Such prudence seems to me very suspect; what it is based on is nothing else but a way of leading a double life. On the contrary, the truly Christian artist cannot help but place his art in the body of his faith as one of its elements, one of its members. (I do not say at the service of his faith, which would imply a certain lack of integration between the two.)

For the Christian who is favored with it, the gift of writing is not reducible merely to a natural disposition; it is the mark which differentiates his interior vocation from the vocation of other men. It appoints him as a guardian of the language, the privileged instrument of men's knowledge of the world, of human communication, of praise and of prayer. The word gives us the power to name, to bind, to weave the continuous fabric between the world of the spirit and the world of matter. Its function is religious, in a primary sense. (I do not use that adjective in its etymological meaning, although there is a natural religion which is an imperfect image of the true union with God.)

The function of the Christian word—and the word of a Christian is never his most profound word if it is not

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a Christian word—is to announce the presence of God, the principle of unity which governs all life. Of course it is not a question of the artist's confining himself to subjects which are religious in the strict sense of the word; if such subjects do not inspire him, that is because he has received no mission to deal with them.

In fact, the presence of God is manifest even in the tragic light of a painting or the despair into which a novelist finds his hero sinking. Each thing, each living being, each situation, each word, is both immediate presence and sign. Nothing is confined to itself, even a concept. Everything exists in relation to something, and we never quite know the relationships of which we are the center.

Let no one suppose, however, that Christianity implies a symbolism which is imposed on objective reality. Instead it develops an increasingly acute sensibility to the harmonies of this order of reality, which are such only in appearance. For they are the secret sighs, the hidden exultation, the unconscious tension, the mysterious radiation of the human presence in the invisible reality which God governs, the universe of the Second Coming.

THE artist who lives in faith can legitimately consider himself as an instrument of the revelation of this Kingdom, according to the gifts he has received and the order of inspiration that is his. It is not a question here of undergoing an ordeal of pride, not a case of a self-conscious instrument praising God for being in His hands and desiring nothing less than to become a demiurge. On the contrary, such an artist will guard against the common temptation of believing himself to be the master of all he creates.

From the moment a Christian artist renounces the idea of *lending* God his palette, his chisel, or his pen, and places himself entirely in the hands of the Lord Who alone knows what He expects of him, God will give him the strength fully to manifest himself. Hence every work of creation—or procreation, to speak more accurately—would have to begin by prayer or be penetrated by that constant, instinctive prayer which the life of faith tends to be.

I can imagine a Léon Bloy, a Péguy, a Bernanos, addressing himself to Our Lord in words like these: "You have committed to me the ministry of the human word, which is man's honor to the extent that he is faithful to Your creative intention; in this work that I undertake, in this page that I begin today, I submit to Your will without regard to myself except for my errors and my failures. Make of me the man that You wish me to be and not the artisan of my own false glory which vanity holds out to me."

And I can imagine the attention of the Creator to these words, which are nothing more than an implicit reiteration of total submission to the will of God. In other words, I believe with all my heart in the need for a radical change in the way in which we look upon a work of art. Let us Christians take our faith as the focus of our intelligence, our imagination, our sensibility; let us pass our experience in the world through the crucible of our spiritual life; let us denounce every limitation of thought which would confine us in a false realism, and let us never forget that the world of evil is equally a world of Grace, the world of Good Friday, of the Ascension, of God's death, of the Easter certainty.

By his characters, who are afire with a spirituality which is sometimes strange but always rigorously subject to the faith, an isolated figure such as Bernanos has deeply disturbed that modern conscience which declares itself hostile to a religious truth unless it has been received by direct revelation. And even if all the readers of Bernanos had retained from his books only that uneasiness which was created through an experience infinitely beyond the daily round (all the while constituting the bread of those who lived it) that would suffice to demonstrate that this author had accomplished his Christian task.

It must be admitted that the judgments of Bernanos were violent, often apparently unjust. But if they are more closely scrutinized, everyone would agree that they are substantially true to the faith, infinitely more impregnated with justice than a supposed faith which accommodates itself to everything. Here, no doubt, is an intransigent faith, but one whose very intransigence gave it a place in the midst of men, a monument so great that it would be folly to deny it.

Absolutely nothing will stop a man who, like Bernanos, dares to present to the world these absurd, these formidable figures. The author of *Joy* gives us their true dimensions, and thanks to him the literary universe is not quite yet a universe of pygmies. But men refuse to undergo that ordeal as to their identity, that questionnaire of responsibility, which does but reveal the list of compromises which the weak accept in order that they may retain the illusion of believing. Let them not be carried away by the call of history: neither the Struggle for Peace, nor the Crusade for Freedom, nor that other modern siren, garbed in gray, which bears the name of Neutralism.

Let writers be true in every circumstance and not hesitate to pursue the truth to the end as their faith teaches them—a truth which can be neither unjust nor partisan, which cannot go against man but on the contrary impels him toward his destination. God asks nothing more of them. All the rest—the force of their words, their response to the expectation of souls, to that thirst for justice which is the honor of our world but which deteriorates so swiftly into a terrible pride—all the rest, and beauty itself, which is too often the idol of art, will be added unto them.

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A Record of Adolescence

ANNE FRANK: THE DIARY OF A YOUNG GIRL. Translated from the Dutch by B. M. Mooyart-Doubleday. Doubleday. $3.

By JEAN HOLZHAUER

DOUBLEDAY editors have subtitled this book "An Extraordinary Document of Adolescence," a comment just slightly misleading in its suggestion of formal psychological study, but for all that eminently correct.

The book chronicles Anne Frank's thirteenth and fourteenth years, 1942 to 1944. It is extraordinary for its writer's candor and sensitivity, both to her environment and to her interior development. It is also extraordinary for the conditions of its writing: the record is of eight Jews hiding out in Amsterdam during the German occupation of Holland.

Anne's family was called up for exportation to a concentration camp in 1942, a scant month after the diary's beginning. The Franks went into hiding in store rooms of Mr. Frank's office building. With them went another couple, the Van Daans, and their son Peter, and later a Mr. Dussel, a dentist.

The study of these people, their interrelationships and their corrosion by forced association in cramped and primitive living quarters, always in fear of discovery, would do credit to a reporter much older than Anne. The personalities come through with that peculiar clarity characterizing the perceptions of sensitive adolescents: the gentle father, the intelligent but uncomprehending mother, the lonely older sister, and the Van Daans and Mr. Dussel, all are endowed with new stature by the girl who, among them, was the child.

But sharper than these portraits is the picture of Anne herself, drawn both intentionally ("I also discovered my inward happiness and my defensive armor of superficiality and gaiety") and indirectly, in statements about others ("He is still a child in his heart of hearts, he is no older than I am; he is only searching for tranquility and happiness").

The picture thus assembled shows Anne's thoughts and emotions to have been typical of her age; their articulation is astonishingly mature. She is interested in all the usual objects of an intelligent teen-age girl's consideration—studies and parties and presents and frocks; abstract ideas of courage and virtue; her family, and, of course, her boy friends. Against the grim background of the Jewish pogrom, these commonplaces are much more than usually touching. Anne's romance with Peter Van Daan is the very type and model of early love, all innocent experiment and wild surmise—but with death itself standing just beyond.

The Diary achieves several ends other than the recording of experience. In its way, it is one more impressive testimonial to the Dutch people's generosity toward Jewish refugees during World War II. And it constitutes also a tribute to youth; through its young writer, it restores to teen-agers some of the luster of honor and bravery which ought rightfully to be theirs.

Three days after the final entry in the Diary, the Grüne Polizei raided the hide-out. All the occupants were arrested and sent to German and Dutch concentration camps. The Diary was found by friends among piles of old newspapers, books and magazines left lying on the floor.

Of them all, only Anne's father survived. In March, 1945, three months short of her fifteenth birthday and two months before the liberation of Holland, Anne died in the concentration camp at Bergen-Belsen.

A Case of Possession

WISE BLOOD. By Flannery O'Connor. Harcourt, Brace. $3.

By JOHN W. SIMONS

THIS is the first novel of a twenty-six-year-old Georgia woman. It is a remarkably accomplished, remarkably precocious beginning. Written in a taut, dry, economical and objective prose, it is an important addition to the grotesque literature of Southern decadence. It is also a kind of Southern-Baptist version of "The Hound of Heaven."

Hazel Motes, recently mustered out of the U. S. Army, sets his mind on becoming an itinerant evangelist after the manner of his grandfather. Tennessee swarms with these circuit preachers, whose motives and origins are dubious. But Motes' gospel is to be revolutionary. He is to preach "the Church without Christ." The symbols of what I should call his "ordination" are a black preacher's hat and a second-hand Essex car. The hat is a symbol of a kind of interior anointing. The car is a symbol both of his "otherworldliness" and of his mechanism of escape from Christ.

Motes encounters several characters who are important to him and to the novel. They are Asa Hawks, a preacher whose simulated blindness becomes for Hazel a temptation and a challenge; Hawks's daughter, Lily, whose body cries for Hazel's; Enoch Emory, a demoniac whose washstand is the altar of his Black Mass; and Onnie Jay Holy, who is Hazel's disreputable *alter ego*. After a series of macabre events, Hazel kills his *alter ego* and wrecks his car. He gives up his career as preacher and spends his remaining years as a kind of urban anchorite, submitting himself to penances of an incredibly harsh nature. His death is laconic and terrible.

Wise Blood receives its title from Enoch Emory's Satanic charism. His blood is "wise," that is, it warns him, like the alleged pricking of witches' thumbs, of an unnamed evil which is imminent and which is to use him as its involuntary engine.

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What is true of Emory is true in a less pronounced way of all the characters in the novel. All are driven; all are possessed. They live, like animals, according to some anonymous law of the blood. Not one of them exhibits the capacity to think or even to feel humanly. Their world is not a society at all. There is no fellowship that we recognize as human. Motes is possessed too, but in the Dostoievskian sense. Christ somehow sings in his blood.

Motes' rejection of Christ, or apparent rejection of Christ, can be explained simply. His childhood was fed on a crude evangelism which luridly associated Christ with sin. Christ was involved in a man's life in proportion to a man's involvement in sin. Even as a boy Motes had "a deep black wordless conviction that the way to avoid Jesus was to avoid sin." The proposition is reversible: the way to avoid sin is to avoid Jesus. This is the essence of the Motesian gospel. If he sometimes indulged in sin, he did so listlessly, so as to prove that he did not believe in it.

It is Lily Hawks, the degenerate, who sees Motes for what he really is. "I seen you wouldn't never have no fun or let anybody else because you didn't want nothing but Jesus." When he ceases to be a preacher and abandons his car (the instrument of his flight from Christ), and when he blinds himself as a ritual gesture of his guilt, we may assume, if we wish, that Christ has gained a wordless victory.

This is a possible reading of the main intention of *Wise Blood*. It is not, however, the whole of the novel, which is rich in secondary themes. Metaphor is almost always deeply imbedded in the factual narrative, but there are times when the symbols become detached and seem to be indulged for their own horrendous sake.

The style is bare and almost reportorial. The author is, so to speak, nowhere in sight, a virtue which is perhaps overvalued in the contemporary novel. (An anonymous style tends, by an inner logic, to be the non-existence of style.) The stifling world which emerges from these pages is an animalistic world. The author's predilection for zoölogical symbolism is more than a trick of style. There is more crude animalism in Taulkinham than in the fictional zoo of its outskirts. Nobody here is redeemed because there is no one to redeem. It is doubtful, for all my own high-minded scansion of symbol, that even Motes is redeemed.

Apologia for Tito's Yugoslavia

THE EAGLE AND THE ROOTS. By Louis Adamic. Doubleday. $5.

By M. A. FITZSIMONS

IN 1949 the late Louis Adamic, depressed by the decline of American radicalism, the rash domestic effects of our containment policy and the not-too-distant thunder of war, visited Yugoslavia, his native land. By his own story, he had hoped to visit the Soviet Union as well. His purposes were to look for prospects and means of ending the Cold War and to probe into its significance. As he failed to secure a Soviet visa, he spent nearly seven months in Yugoslavia. The result is a quasi-official account of Tito's Communist dictatorship.

Adamic had access to most of Yugoslavia's leaders, and had thirty hours of interviews with Tito himself. He attempts, perhaps unconsciously, to discount these official favors by recalling his special relationship to the new Yugoslavia, by stressing Yugoslav ineptness in public relations and by insisting that Tito was uninterested in Adamic's concern for the history of Tito's life. The author, also, sought to disguise the apologetic character of his work by making it a book of questions and hesitations about his book. But the questions and hesitations are so unsubstantial that they are clearly a device to suggest that the book was written only after a meticulous inquiry and troubled soul-searching.

The author begins with such unexamined assumptions as that the Cold War began with Churchill's

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Fulton Speech and the Truman Doctrine which, also, represent the influence and policy of the Vatican and Cardinal Spellman. His criticisms of Tito's Yugoslavia are two: the country has not told its story to the world, and it shot down American fliers in 1946. Even these are finally explained away. The anti-Communist hysteria of the United States makes the telling of the story pointless, the story goes, and Yugoslavia was deliberately provoked into shooting down the planes. The fact of dictatorship is never mentioned, and the author deftly suggests that the country is not a police-state.

To Adamic, Yugoslavia, a small country, presents the hope of the future, if it can be saved from the senseless giants, the United States and the Soviet Union. The Liberation and Tito are the true realization of Yugoslav aspirations, a delayed and true Reformation. The thesis is presented in a multitude of dialogues. The author obviously reworked his notes assiduously. It is amusing to find his belief that the Truman Doctrine was proclaimed in 1946 repeated by his Yugoslav hosts.

This excessively free recasting of his material and the obvious partisanship in dealing with a complex tragedy make the book utterly undependable in major outlines and in detail. The last half of the book gives an interesting account of Tito's life. Even here the Communist rewriting of history to meet a changed line is obvious.

Latin American Hero

MIRANDA: WORLD CITIZEN. By Joseph F. Thorning. University of Florida Press. $5.

By CHARLES G. FENWICK

DR. Thorning's biography gives us a very graphic picture of the Venezuelan patriot who came to be known as the "Precursor" of Latin American independence. The career of Miranda was indeed an extraordinary one, and the author tells the story in a way that throws a clearer light upon the history of the period than a dozen histories of broader scope could do.

The parallel between the struggle for independence in Latin America and in the United States is not so close as to enable us to fit Miranda into the pattern of one of our own revolutionary heroes. Miranda was a restless spirit who responded to the cause of "liberty" not only in his native land but in North America and in Europe as well, his intelligence and his idealism bringing him into contact with the most diverse characters, with Washington and Adams, with French revolutionary leaders, with Catherine the Great of Russia and later with conservative British statesmen who for national reasons of their own might be willing to give aid to Venezuela against Spain.

When at last, after more than forty years' absence, Miranda returned to lead the forces of revolution in his land he was, perhaps, too much of a European to understand how to carry on guerrilla warfare

EVE AND THE GRYPHON

by Gerald Vann, O.P.

A reprint of Father Vann's work on the vocation of the twentieth century Christian woman. Father Vann's theme is that every Christian woman has a vocation—not necessarily in the specialized sense of a religious vocation—but in its basic meaning of a call from God, a call to live for Christ wherever she may find herself. He treats of four great models for Catholic womanhood. Taking our Lady, St. Catherine of Siena, St. Monica, and Dante's Beatrice he indicates the basic facts by which the life of Christian women living in the world must be guided and shaped. A balanced and realistic book.

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The Christian in the World, II

"There is a natural tension between the 'liberal' and the Catholic. Despite the fact that in many cases they have worked and still work for the same things, understanding between them comes hard. They have too many basic, fundamental differences. Yet there are so many points of agreement on practical questions of the day that the relationship is sometimes ambiguous.

"Some Catholics in their abhorrence for the 'liberal' philosophy withdraw from whatever is associated, even in the popular mind, with the 'liberal' viewpoint. In their fury against the 'liberal' philosophy they have sometimes aligned themselves indiscriminately with anti-'liberal' forces in American life, wherever the path may lead. To do so they have often had to reject positions which ordinarily would have been theirs by reason of Catholic social and political teaching.

"To add to the irony, the natural inclination is to think that in rejecting such positions one is rejecting the 'liberal' philosophy itself, ergo one is much more Catholic than those clergy and laity who find themselves in the same corner with the 'liberals' but for different, far different reasons. These Catholics then, sometimes scornfully called 'liberal Catholics,' become in their eyes misled dupes, or compromisers with Catholic othodoxy, fuzzy-minded do-gooders, or people infected with the virus of the 'liberal' philosophy. All in all, things get pretty complicated at times."

—JOHN COGLEY
in The Commonweal
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and to lead effectively the somewhat undisciplined elements that Bolivar and other local leaders had been able to gather together. Dr. Thorning handles admirably the unhappy break between the two patriots and describes in moving terms, taken from Miranda's own diaries, the tragic end of his career.

It is rare to find a biography in which scholarly research and dramatic presentation are so happily combined. A foreword by Sumner Welles speaks of the volume as "an immensely valuable contribution to the cause of inter-American understanding," and the comment is fully justified by the portrait of a man whose conception of liberty went beyond national boundaries, a man who believed that the independence of Venezuela could only be justified on the basis of an appeal for the liberties of all peoples under similar circumstances.

As Others See Us

ONE MAN'S AMERICA. By Alistair Cooke. Knopf. $3.50.

By CAROL H. WEISS

AMERICAN comedians love to joke about the BBC. I remember in particular Henry Morgan's imitation of a British radio announcer at an American boxing match. His blow-by-blow description went something like this: "My word, he is giving that chap angry glances," "Jolly good blow!" "Now the blokes are embracing each other." Somewhere during the second round, one of the fighters reminded him of a man he met in India. Above the roaring of the crowd and the ringing of the bells, he proceeded to recount his Indian adventures—until the crowd let out a particularly frenzied outburst. In surprised tones, he said, "Well, well, well, it's all over. This is the BBC signing off."

If *One Man's America* is any indication, that is pure slander. For this book is a selection of talks from the series on life in the United States that Alistair Cooke has been broadcasting on the BBC. And it is enough to set you hopefully to work twiddling the short-wave dials on

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your radio. Gay and chatty, it is a more revealing collection of observations on America than many a sober, well-footnoted volume. No one could dismiss this country as a land of New York tycoons, Chicago gangsters, and Hollywood glamor girls—or as any other one-sentence generalization—after meeting the Americans in these pages.

There is the big Portland lumberman who was faced with the problem of finding more wood for dunnage, the protective covering for ships' cargoes. Usually very cheap wood is used, but because of shortages, the shipbuilders suggested using the great and beautiful Douglas fir. The lumberman after all was a business man out for business, and no sentimentalist about chopping down trees, but he kept saying, "Douglas fir. Douglas fir for dunnage. No, sir." Or the little New Yorker who scribbled on a wall in the middle of the rich and restless city, "Nuts to all the boys on Second Avenue"— a long straggling pause, and then, "except between 68th and 69th Streets." There is the Indian high priest on a reservation near Santa Fe who plastered his mud walls with pictures of shiny automobiles, and finally succeeded in buying a huge purple convertible. Alistair Cooke's is the kind of reporing that makes the sights and sounds, the manners and morals, the feel of America come through. I hope that the Voice of America is doing as good a job.

When Mr. Cooke appeared on the program "Author Meets the Critics" to discuss his book, the only complaint was that his America was too unremittingly delightful. That, however, is part of his purpose. The British people, he says, "hear plenty from other sources what is worst." Then, too, Mr. Cooke himself is a delightful person. No matter how critical the state of the world may be, he is interested in "the important things," the things "which the gravest statesmen and hoarsest politicians hope to make available in the end: the opportunity to do good work, to fall in love, to enjoy friends, to sit under trees, to read, to hit a ball and bounce the baby."

Nevertheless, after reading these

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beautifully written essays, one is fully aware that American life isn't all apple pie a la mode and baseball pennant races. Mr. Cooke often probes deep beneath the surface, and plenty of uncomfortable truths wriggle out. Not the least of them is unintentional: it is the realization that probably nowhere on American radio can be found such perceptive and entertaining discussions of life in this country or anywhere else.

No Sweat, No Tears

WINSTON CHURCHILL: An Informal Study of Greatness. By Robert Lewis Taylor. Doubleday. $4.50.

By JAMES O'GARA

ROBERT LEWIS TAYLOR describes his biography of Winston Churchill as "An Informal Study of Greatness." "Informal" understates the case; "affectionate" would be closer to the mark, since this is easily one of the most uncritical biographies of the year, if one leaves out of account the season's crop of campaign literature.

Mr. Taylor brings to his task the same talents he displayed in his widely read biography of W. C. Fields, but in this instance the result is not quite as felicitous. In dealing with the momentous decisions and rounded periods of the great wartime Prime Minister, the breezy style that fits W. C. Fields is often jarring. Mr. Taylor seems to share Churchill's general political viewpoint and social convictions, but somehow the strong words one takes for granted in Churchill seem unbecoming in the mouth of the younger man. Nor can Mr. Taylor's analysis of the modern social crisis be called profound.

Describing the reign of Victoria, for example, he says: "It was before the heyday of that small, venomous blessing, the behind-the-government-scenes intellectual, usually sick and always hate-ridden, who was to be so lofty and sonorous in hauling down a world in which he lacked the courage to compete on normal terms."

For all this, Mr. Taylor's book has its points. He has obviously done considerable research, and it seems unlikely that a single Churchill anecdote has escaped him. In addition to tracing Churchill's career from birth to the present, the book considers Churchill as novelist, as historian, as artist, as out-of-office politician. Its political insights are negligible and its critical analysis almost nil, but the book is entertaining and very readable. Pictures, too.

REVIEWERS

Jean Holzhauer, whose home is in Milwaukee, writes reviews for several Catholic periodicals.

Rev. John W. Simons is a priest of the Philadelphia archdiocese. He teaches at Immaculata College.

M. A. Fitzsimons is a member of the Notre Dame history faculty.

Charles G. Fenwick is an officer of the Pan-American Union.

Carol H. Weiss is a free-lance reviewer whose home is in Chicago.

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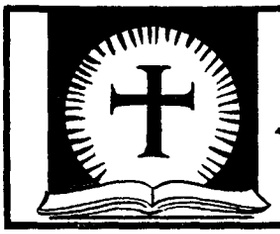

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